



Daily Report

Sub-Saharan Africa

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Friday
24 January 1992

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Cameroon

Prime Minister Signs Decree To Check Oil Smuggling

*AB2401120592 Yaounde CRTV Radio Network
in French 1900 GMT 21 Jan 92*

[Text] To fight the smuggling of petroleum products in Cameroon, the government is taking the bull by the horns.

A decree signed today by the prime minister creates a coordinating committee at the Ministry of Finance to fight against the fraudulent importation, ownership, transportation, sale, and consumption of petroleum products in Cameroon. This body, which is named the Committee, proposes and supervises the activities of eradication, monitoring, smuggling, and sale of petroleum products as well as the implementation of penalties stipulated in the decree. For the execution of its mission, the Committee is assisted by provincial committees. This new body, which is made up of representatives of several ministerial departments, is chaired by the minister of finance.

Drivers, Students on Strike for Nonpayment of Funds

*AB2201111492 Libreville Africa No. 1 in French
0730 GMT 22 Jan 92*

[Text] In Cameroon, drivers of the Cameroon Urban Transport Company embarked on an industrial action on 20 January to back their demands for the payment of three months of salary arrears.

Meanwhile, still in Cameroon, we have just learned that University of Yaounde, where students have been on strike since last week for nonpayment of their scholarships, is surrounded by security forces. This piece of news was confirmed a few moments ago on telephone by Victorin Hameni Bieleu, chairman of the Union of Democratic Forces of Cameroon:

[Begin Bieleu recording] Something incredible is happening presently on Yaounde University campus. Gendarmes have taken up positions on the campus. There is a massive arrest of students who have been brought to the Gendarmerie headquarters. These students are maltreated—their heads are shaven and so on—and as a political party, we believe this act is impermissible. If the youth are asking for their scholarships, there is another way of negotiating with them rather than sending soldiers to the university campus. We, therefore, denounce this action and call on the government to negotiate with these children to fix new conditions for the new academic year. [end recording].

Ministry of Defense Receives Equipment From France

*AB1901205092 Yaounde CRTV Radio Network
in English 1800 GMT 17 Jan 92*

[Text] Minister of Defense Edouard Akame Mfoumou has promised to put to good use military equipment

donated by the French government. He spoke in Yaounde this morning while receiving military equipment donated by the French government to the Ministry of Defense.

Mr. Akame Mfoumou thanked France for its continued assistance, adding that Cameroonian military officials have always been trained in the French military academies.

Speaking earlier, the French ambassador to Cameroon, Yvon Omnes, said cooperation between France and Cameroon is permanent and mutually understood.

Legislative Elections Slated for 1 March

*AB1701174292 Yaounde CRTV Radio Network
in French 0530 GMT 16 Jan 92*

[Text] The current electoral process in Cameroon is irreversible. A decree signed by the president of the Republic and published yesterday calls for the electorate to go to the polls on 1 March. Clearly stated, voters will go to the polls on 1 March. According to the presidential decree, the electorate will be picking deputies for the national assembly. Voting starts at 0800 and ends at 1800.

UNDP Leader's Conditions Cited

*AB1801152092 Yaounde CRTV Radio Network
in English 1800 GMT 16 Jan 92*

[Text] Mr. Samuel Eboua says the National Union for Democracy and Progress, UNDP, would go to elections only if the government respects what he considers as terms of the tripartite talks. He was speaking at the Yaounde Hilton Hotel yesterday to the press in his first appearance in Yaounde following the Garoua Congress.

Mr. Eboua reiterated that he remains the chairman of the party and called on his militants to remain faithful to the party and register massively for the elections, hoping that the government will reconsider its terms.

UNDC Authorized as New Political Party

*AB1801143292 Yaounde CRTV Radio Network
in French 0530 GMT 15 Jan 92*

[Text] The Cameroon National Democratic Union [UNDC] has entered the political arena in the country. This political party has been authorized by a decision of the minister of territorial administration on 5 January. It is headquartered in Yaounde and is led by five people, including Chairman (Garga Balla) and Secretary General Jean-Claude Mbefeu.

Central African Republic

French Senate Delegation Arrives on Visit

AB2201104892 Bangui Radiodiffusion-Television
Centrafricaine Radio in French 1800 GMT 18 Jan 92

[Excerpt] A delegation of French senators belonging to the France-Central Africa Friendship Group arrived in Bangui this afternoon for a 48-hour visit. The eight-member delegation is led by Jean-Pierre Cantegrit, the [word indistinct] senator representing French living abroad. The delegation was met on arrival by two French representatives in Bangui, [names indistinct]. At the VIP lounge of Bangui-Mpoko Airport, the head of the French delegation told our correspondent, Jean-Marcellin Edentoko, the objective of their mission to Bangui.

[Begin recording] [Cantegrit] Well, I am leading a delegation of French senators as part of a mission entrusted to us by the president of the Senate, Alain Poher, precisely, the speaker of our assembly, the Senate of the French Republic. I am accompanied by three of my colleagues: Senator Mouly of Correze, Senator Lacombe of Haute-Vienne, and Senator Vallon of Rhone.

We belong to the Senate's France-Central Africa group, one of the most important groups in our Assembly. We had two places to visit in this area—Chad, where we are coming from and where we undertook a very interesting and instructive visit to Ndjamenah—and Bangui in the Central African Republic, the second leg of our trip, a place where we hope to have many contacts with our counterparts.

[Edentoko] Mr. President, besides the fact that you will meet fellow members of parliament, you will also meet the head of the government and the foreign minister. What will you discuss with them?

[Cantegrit] Well, we will, of course, discuss bilateral relations with the head of the government and the foreign minister. You know how excellent our long-standing and fruitful relations are. We will, therefore, discuss these issues in the presence of our ambassador. All relevant issues will be discussed, not only bilateral relations, but also the situation prevailing in the region.

Since we are coming from Chad, we will discuss all problems concerning neighboring countries with our counterparts. [passage omitted]

Congo

Further on Military, Political Developments

Road Barricades Removed

AB2301154092 Brazzaville Radio Nationale
Congolaise Network in French 1330 GMT 23 Jan 92

[Text] Traffic has been moving freely in Baongo and Makelekele since this morning. The barricades set up on

the roads have been removed. Gilbert David Mutakala visited these two administrative districts.

[Begin Mutakala recording] [Words indistinct] this morning along the major roads in Baongo and Makelekele. They are the roads on which barricades were set up, namely the (Krumene) Avenue in (Mucondo), the OAU Avenue, the (Total) market in (Point de Dwue), the (Fulbert Dioulou) Avenue, the (Simon Kibango) Avenue, the (Three Bridges) Avenue, commonly called the (Dinamere) and the road that leads from the (Perintio) to the (Kintoundi) factory. All the roads we have visited have been cleared of the obstacles that have made movement impossible for the past three days. It is now left to the road maintenance service to clear the sides of these same roads which are blocked by vehicles, pieces of wood, and heaps of ashes from burnt tires.

[Words indistinct] is now over but one must say that the going was difficult for our fellow countrymen living along these roads and particularly those living in the (Bissam), (Tour des Petits), and (Sende Joe) areas for they had to walk long distances. The removal of the barricades was welcomed by all, but a heavy price was paid: people died, a car was burned, and a workshop ransacked. It should also be noted that the security measures here at the radio station have just been reduced. [end recording]

AFP Reports on CSR 23 Jan Meeting

AB2301200092 Paris AFP in French 1721 GMT
23 Jan 92

[By special correspondent Patrick Van Roekeghem]

[Excerpts] Brazzaville, 23 Jan (AFP)—The Higher Council of the Republic (CSR, legislative body of the transition period) met again this afternoon at Congress Palace in Brazzaville, and under the chairmanship of Monsignor Ernest Kombo, particularly rowdy debate was transmitted live on television. This meeting came after an earlier meeting between the executive committee of the CSR and the government could not be held the previous day. Prime Minister Andre Milongo left the meeting before it started, saying his security was not ensured.

After the prime minister had announced an imminent reshuffle of his transition cabinet the previous day, today's debate, however, quickly turned into a quarrel over procedural matters and the agenda. "We still do not know the composition of the government, and we are debating something of which we do not possess all the facts," stated Monsignor Kombo, who was criticized severely by a certain participants who wanted an immediate debate on ways to resolve the crisis.

Finally, Msg. Kombo asked the participants to study the timetable of the upcoming elections instead of holding a premature debate.

Earlier, a very deep split was observed between the participants on whether to have one minute of silence in memory of the victims. Some counselors protested strongly, saying the victims had put up barricades in the streets, therefore, they could not be considered victims of the democratic process. A counselor also expressed surprise that the exact number of victims was still not known. The number of victims is thought to be between 8 and 20.

Although of the CSR meeting continued late this afternoon in a tense atmosphere, the prime minister had still not yet released the composition of his new government.

According to generally well-informed sources in Brazzaville, this new cabinet will have limited number of ministers in order to ensure more efficiency. Additionally, the secretary of state for defense will be dropped from this new government. The dissident soldiers have been calling for his dismissal since the beginning of the crisis. They also want the prime minister to leave, special statutes for the military, and salary increases. [passage omitted]

According to a program presenter, this resumption is in conformity with Prime Minister Milongo's demand even though the soldiers are always present inside the television house. She, however, threatened to stop all activities if the "military censure" established since 15 January is not removed.

Brazzaville Radio Details CSR Discussions

*AB2301210092 Brazzaville Radio Nationale
Congolaise Network in French 1830 GMT 23 Jan 92*

[Text] The crisis which has disrupted Congo's political and military situation over the past few days was the center of discussions held today by the Higher Council of the Republic [CSR] during a plenary session that was covered by radio and television networks and presided over by CSR Chairman Monsignor Ernest Kombo. Give us the details, (Eshettin Anga Musape):

[(Musape)] This session was expected to be decisive because it was to reach a final decision on the political and military crisis. The desired satisfaction, however, has not been achieved. There has been some wavering because an oral report on the conflict was given rather than a complete report on the CSR bureau's effort to resolve the crisis between the Congolese Armed Forces and the government. An even new and unexpected element has come into play regarding the presentation of the mission's results. This element is the announcement by Prime Minister Andre Milongo concerning the Cabinet reshuffle. Therefore, it appears that the mediation work must continue, and the CSR must work responsibly to resolve the conflict. In this regard, the honorable council members made several suggestions to the government, one being that they must undertake greater efforts in the (?conscientious) administration of the transition, according to the spirit of the sovereign national conference.

Earlier, the council members called on the CSR to be responsible in its role as a monitor and to see to the execution of the sovereign national conference decisions.

Later, many council members deplored the political advantage that some other council members and political parties have tried to take in regard to this crisis. We have seen them draw the youth into the crisis by morally and materially entertaining them. In doing so, they are reflecting the upsurge of tribalism and regionalism and opposing the language of unity and peace, which is greatly requested by all. In fact, and according to the CSR first vice chairman, one can say that the mission has been accomplished, because the prime minister's statement is considered to be an important step in finding solutions to the present crisis, provided that he take the CSR suggestions, and obviously, the demands of Armed Forces into account.

Finally, the CSR has adopted by a vast majority the draft bill on the amendment of Act No. 015, which concerns establishing the electoral timetable during the transitional period.

'Contested' Military Minister Said Removed

*AB2301191492 Paris AFP in English 1856 GMT
23 Jan 92*

[Excerpts] Brazzaville, Jan 23 (AFP)—Congolese Prime Minister Andre Milongo has formed a slimmed-down government from which a minister contested by Army leaders has been removed, generally well-informed sources said here Thursday [23 January]. [passage omitted]

The reshuffle was announced late Wednesday as a measure "to surmount the crisis" in the Congo, but no details had been officially announced by Thursday afternoon.

The sources said that [Michel] Gangou, appointed to his post [junior defense minister] on December 30, had been removed in the formation of a slimmer administration that would seek to act with greater efficiency. [passage omitted]

Army leaders are continuing to demand Milongo's dismissal, special statutes for the military and pay rises.

Informed sources said that Milongo, as a conciliatory gesture, could shortly call an Army council meeting following several postponements of the meeting. [passage omitted]

CSR Adopts New Timetable for Elections

*AB2301211592 Paris AFP in French 1926 GMT
23 Jan 92*

[Text] Brazzaville, 23 Jan (AFP)—This evening, the Higher Council of the Republic (CSR, the legislative body during the transition period) adopted a new timetable for elections which provides notably for a referendum on a new constitution on 7 February, according to parliamentary sources in Brazzaville. This timetable

modifies an earlier one drawn up during the national conference last year which was held from January to June. Municipal and senatorial elections will take place in March. Legislative elections will take place in April and May while presidential elections will be held in June. The previous timetable provided for elections in January, legislative elections in March and presidential elections in June. All these elections will be preceded on 7 February by a referendum on a new constitution.

The new electoral timetable became necessary because of the delay in the administrative census and the establishment of an electoral register, the same sources explained. A commission made up of CSR and government officials will be set up to demarcate electoral constituencies.

Troops Leave Media, Treasury Buildings

AB2401140592 Paris AFP in French 1341 GMT
24 Jan 92

[Text] Brazzaville, 24 Jan (AFP)—Congolese soldiers who had been occupying the official radio and television station since the beginning of the political and military crisis on 15 January, have returned to their barracks, it was observed in Brazzaville today.

The departure of the soldiers follows a meeting yesterday of the transitional legislative body, the Higher Council of the Republic [CSR], during which the councillors called on the soldiers to withdraw from strategic areas and return to their barracks. The soldiers have also left the buildings of the Public Treasury where several civil servants, who had not as yet received their November salaries, had gathered.

Rwanda

Radio Reports Army-Rebel Clashes in Ruhengeri

EA2401121492 Kigali Radiodiffusion Nationale
de la Republique Rwandaise in French 1115 GMT
23 Jan 92

[Text] The Rwandan Armed Forces have been fighting the rebels in Butaro Commune, Ruhengeri. On the line, Jean-Baptiste Hakizimana reports:

[Hakizimana] Everything started with gunfire at close range in the sectors of Butaro which border Uganda. Armed rebels had just entered in such large numbers that they were able to reach the sectors of Rutovu, Rugendabare, (Kinyabara), (Kindoyi) and (Ruyiba). The intervention of the Rwandan Armed Forces stopped the movement towards Butaro communal office. The whole day will, however, be very busy on the Army and rebels sides. Apart from the rebels who came in with individual arms, those who remained in Uganda are launching shells even into Kidaho commune.

Displaced populations are keeping their usual cool and are following closely the progress of the fighting. For their part, those living in Ruhengeri town had a sleepless

night following shooting which reminded them of the sad experience of 23 January 1991 when the rebels reached Ruhengeri town. The town is, however, peaceful though one can read a certain amount of anxiety in people's faces.

President, Opposition Officials on Demonstrations

EA2301143092 Kigali Radiodiffusion Nationale
de la Republique Rwandaise in French 0431 GMT
22 Jan 92

[Text] General Juvenal Habyarimana, the president of the Republic, yesterday afternoon received officials of the Republican Democratic Movement [MDR] the Liberal Party [PL] in the presence of Prime Minister Sylvestre Nsanzimana, and Faustin Munyazesa, minister of interior and communal development. The talks were on the demonstrations organized mainly in Kigali during the past few days by the opposition parties. The following report is on a communique which Interior Minister Faustin Munyazesa delivered to radio Rwanda last night.

At the end of the meeting between the head of state and MDR and PL officials, it was agreed that if demonstrations were to take place, they must be held in conformity with the existing laws. They must be peaceful and without vandalism. The demonstrations which the opposition planned to hold again are suspended because of the negotiations which the authorities are going to hold with this opposition. It was also agreed that the public must be informed about results of all these negotiations.

Opposition Party Broadcasts Suspended Provisionally

EA2301142592 Kigali Radiodiffusion Nationale
de la Republique Rwandaise in French 1800 GMT
21 Jan 92

[Excerpt] Information Minister Fidele Nkundabagenzi, has just decided to suspend the political programs broadcast every Tuesday evening on the first channel of Radio Rwanda. [Words indistinct] the explanations he gave on this.

[Reporter] Mr. Minister, you have taken the decision to cancel party political broadcasts. Can you explain the reasons which led to this decision?

[Nkundabagenzi] I would first like to make a correction; there is no question of a cancellation but rather of a provisional suspension. [Words indistinct] difference and as you know, [words indistinct] we have many political parties—at present we already have 12. It is, therefore, clear that the time allotted so far to political parties to express themselves on the radio must be redistributed in a more equitable manner so as to [words indistinct] allowed to express themselves. We have, therefore, redistributed airtime.

In the meantime, it is appropriate for the public authorities to hold a meeting with representatives of the parties

as soon as possible in order to design more equitable redistribution of airtime, taking into account these new parties which have already entered our political scene. [passage omitted including indistinct portions]

Two New Political Parties Legalized 20 Jan

EA2201083092 Kigali Radiodiffusion Nationale de la Republique Rwandaise in French 0430 GMT 21 Jan 92

[Text] Two new political parties were recognized yesterday [20 January] by the minister of interior and communal development. They are the Rwandan Republican Party, PARERWA, led by four people with Mr. Augustin Mutamba, the party chairman, at their head; and the Rwandan Democratic Party, PADER, which is led by a national secretary, Mr. Jean Ntagungira, and three deputy national secretaries.

With the two parties, the number of political parties legalized in our country is now 12.

Zaire

Further on Political Events, Developments

Military Appeals for 'Calm,' 'Vigilance'

LD2301155992 Kinshasa Zaire OZRT Television Network in French 1230 GMT 23 Jan 92

[Excerpts] Ladies and gentlemen, male and female citizens, good day and thank you very much for tuning in to Tele Zaire. [Video shows announcer not observed to report news before, dressed in civilian clothes]

Dear spectators, you may be assured that the situation in the capital is calm. The attempt by uncontrolled elements of the Zairian Armed Forces to occupy the headquarters of La Voix du Zaire has been stopped. The civilian population is currently going about its business—buses, minibus taxis, and taxis have resumed their business. [passage omitted]

We should take some things into consideration from all of this. The Zairian Armed Forces are among the first of those who wish for change, but we, the people in uniform, believe that change should be effected in an orderly and calm fashion. Strong-arm actions, anarchy, and violence are antidemocratic, and that is why we cannot (?condone) them.

The men of the Zairian Armed Forces, all the units taken together, and units of the security forces have proved that position—despite the appeals made by the assailants at La Voix du Zaire, they applied the recommendations of the senior military hierarchy to the letter. Thus, we issue an appeal for calm and vigilance. The security forces have had the situation in hand since 0300 this morning.

We call on the men and women of Kinshasa to freely go about their daily business. Given the size of the security operation deployed throughout the city, there is nothing to fear.

Armed Forces Chief Reassures Military

LD2301163192 Kinshasa Zaire OZRT Television Network in French 1230 GMT 23 Jan 92

[Report by unidentified correspondent]

[Excerpt] Regarding yesterday's events here, at La Voix du Zaire, the chief of General Staff of our Zairian Armed Forces yesterday reassured all elements of the Zairian forces on the arrangements made by the High Command and the government to reply favorably to the wishes of the military. He spoke at the camp of the signals troops [name indistinct].

It is a shame that some of them could not wait—hence the disruption last night on La Voix du Zaire. [passage omitted]

Nguza Says Situation 'Normal'

LD2301201992 Kinshasa Zaire OZRT Television Network in French 1920 GMT 23 Jan 92

[Address to the nation by Zairian Prime Minister Nguza Karl-I-Bond in Kinshasa on 22 January—live or recorded]

[Text] Dear compatriots: On Wednesday, 23 January 1992 [as heard], at 2300 [2200 GMT], some 40 uncontrolled elements of our Armed Forces stormed the national radio studios. In their statement they requested the resignation of the head of state and of the government. They also called for the immediate resumption of the National Sovereign Conference.

The government announces to both national and international audiences that at 0300 this morning, a team consisting of the Special Presidential Division, the Military Action and Intelligence Service, and the Civil Guard regained control over the radio building and the situation has returned to normal.

The government praises the officers, petty officers, corporals, and noncommissioned officers who participated in the action to regain control over the situation. The government at the same time deplores the fact that the intervention entailed loss of human life—one dead among the regular forces and another among the mutineers. Moreover, some of the military involved in the plot have been arrested and will appear in court to answer the serious charges against them. It is up to the law to establish their responsibility and that of their accomplices.

The preliminary investigation reveals that the mutineers had the complicity of some opposition political figures,

some of them members of the National Sovereign Conference. These people, as well as the mutineers, will be handed over to the law.

Last night's events created a climate of general panic among the Zairian population and the foreign community, which has already started to return to our country after successive waves of departures following the events of 23 and 24 September. The government assures the national and foreign communities that it remains loyal to its mission of guaranteeing the safety of people and property.

At the political level, the government reaffirms its commitment to the democratic process launched in our country on 24 April 1990. While everything is progressing toward power through democracy, it is unfortunate to note that certain political actors give in to temptation in supporting civilian or military coups d'etat. The government notes that certain politicians have intended to thwart the National Sovereign Conference from its aim; that is, to use it as an instrument to organize a civilian coup d'etat. The aborted military coup d'etat last night, with the complicity of these very politicians, confirms, if need be, the appropriateness of the decision of the organizational power [le pouvoir organisateur] regarding the suspension of the National Sovereign Conference session.

Therefore, following last night's aborted coup, I wish to forcefully confirm the decision of the organizational power to suspend the work of the National Sovereign Conference.

In connection with the measure taken by the government to suspend the work of the National Sovereign Conference, it has been noted that some foreign countries are openly interfering in our internal affairs. The Republic's government is intent on reminding everyone that Zaire is independent and intends to remain so. Thus, the government forcefully rejects foreign interference and affirms that Zairian policy is made in Kinshasa and not in any foreign capital.

Consequently, the government will approach the OAU and the United Nations to expose the interference in our affairs by some foreign countries.

May God the all-powerful protect our country and people.

Kinshasa Quiet Following 'Bloody Events'

*LD2301210692 Paris Radio France International
in French 1830 GMT 23 Jan 92*

[Excerpts] Kinshasa remained a ghost town today following the bloody events of last night. [passage omitted]

The French Foreign Ministry, in a communique, states that France believes that a national conference is the only way to achieve a return to calm in the country. We have a report from Jean Karim Fall, our special correspondent in Kinshasa:

A leaden silence has fallen on the Zairean capital. Units of the Special Presidential Division are patrolling the deserted avenues. According to several witnesses, the Zairean inhabitants and expatriates have stayed in their homes. The town's two airports are closed. River traffic between Brazzaville and Kinshasa has been suspended. [passage omitted]

For the moment it is impossible to know whether this situation is the result of the call for a general strike issued by the opposition, the Sacred Union, or whether it is due to a feeling of fear after the attack on the radio and television building. [passage omitted]

Opposition Spokesperson Criticizes Regime

*LD2301225692 Brussels La Une Radio Network
in French 1700 GMT 23 Jan 92*

[Text] The European Community is closely following the situation in Zaire. France has said that the resumption of the National Conference on the future of Zaire in Kinshasa is the only way to restore calm to the country. Willi Ersterzoen:

[Ersterzoen] Yesterday EC members decided to suspend their cooperation with Kinshasa because of the interruption to the conference which was directed by Prime Minister Nguza Karl-I-Bond last Sunday. It was to protest that decision that the opposition decided to launch a ghost town operation in Kinshasa today. The head of the Zairian Government stated that last night's events in the capital proved him right: Rebel—in quotation marks—military men occupied Zairian Radio for three hours last night before being dislodged by soldiers loyal to President Mobutu. Two people died in the operation. The Zairian opposition thinks this affair is a put-up job, a sham, in very bad taste.

[Announcer] In this regard, listen to the reaction of Justice Kasavubu, spokesperson of the Union for Democracy and Social Progress in Brussels. She replied to questions from Willi Ersterzoen:

[Begin Kasavubu recording] It totally resembles the psychology of Mobutu. Nguza Karl-I-Bond, who has implemented this mechanism by proxy, is in the process of making his fantasies a reality. It is a conspiracy. It is sleight of hand. Yes, it is happening at a time when the international community is paying close attention to what is going on in Zaire—aid has been suspended on all sides and Nguza Karl-I-Bond is in the process of forcing the dictatorship to hold elections. We cannot join in that game. [end recording]

Automatic Weapons Fire Heard Overnight

*AB2401102792 Paris AFP in English 1019 GMT
24 Jan 92*

[Text] Brazzaville, Jan 24 (AFP)—Automatic weapons fire was heard overnight in the Zairian capital Kinshasa, where the airport has been closed, witnesses and an aviation source said Friday.

The previous night, troops loyal to Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko put down a rebellion by a small group of Army mutineers who took over the national radio station and broadcast calls for the resignation of Mobutu, Prime Minister Nguz A Karl-I-Bond and his government.

Many bursts of gunfire were heard and tracer bullets seen from Brazzaville, the Congolese capital, which lies on the opposite banks of the Zaire River between the two countries.

A pilot who regularly flies the few kilometres (miles) between the two capitals reported Friday that the Kinshasa airport was closed to traffic.

River, Air Traffic With Congo Suspended

*AB2401150892 Paris AFP in French 1344 GMT
24 Jan 92*

[Text] Kinshasa, 24 Jan (AFP)—River and air traffic between Zaire and Congo was suspended last night, it was learned from reliable sources in Kinshasa where unidentified soldiers caused fresh incidents overnight. Authorities were expecting by midday a resumption of traffic with Congo, which seemed to have been suspended following a withdrawal from the opposition.

Automatic gunshots were heard in different wards of Kinshasa last night and tracer bullets were seen in the sky, but no victims were reported.

Leaders of the opposition Sacred Union, implicitly blamed by the prime minister yesterday evening for the previous night's incidents, are expected to hold a news conference this afternoon.

Five Said Dead After Kinshasa Looting

*AB2401151392 Paris AFP in French 1357 GMT
24 Jan 92*

[Text] Kinshasa, 24 Jan (AFP)—At least five people were killed in Kinshasa last night and today during looting by men in military uniform, two Zairian human rights defense associations announced today.

According to a communique issued by the Zairian Human Rights League, "armed men in military clothing looted and killed in the Bandalungwa and Ngiri-Ngiri districts" in the west of the capital. "These lootings left, at least, five dead."

The Zairian Human Rights Defense Association confirmed these lootings in the Ngiri-Ngiri district and reported others in the Kitambo district also in the west of the capital.

Finally, it was learned from informed sources that the regular Army had also looted food supply warehouses in the Ndolo district and taken customers' money.

The national radio and television, which have been retaken by civilian journalists, did not carry the human rights groups' communiques. The television, however, reported the pillaging of one of the hotels.

Reportage on Fourth Session of Ninth Parliament**De Klerk Gives Opening Address**

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[Address by State President F. W. de Klerk at the opening of the fourth session of the ninth parliament of the Republic of South Africa in Cape Town on 24 January—live]

[Text] South Africa is looking back today on two years of unprecedented and dynamic change. It is noticeable and tangible in every sphere of life. Nothing and nobody has been left untouched by it. Everywhere it has finally dawned upon everybody that we are experiencing a decisive period in our history.

Out of this era will be born a new constitutional order. It will differ incisively from the present dispensation. To that all South Africans now have to reconcile themselves once and for all. Without it, lasting peace cannot be achieved. For it the government has obtained a mandate which it will implement responsibly and constitutionally.

In my speech on February the 2nd 1990, I differentiated in respect of a new constitutional dispensation between the prelude to negotiation and the negotiating process itself. Today I am able to declare with confidence that the prelude is past and that negotiation has commenced.

The obstacles that stood in the way of negotiation were removed systematically. On its part, the government levelled the playing field and discriminatory legislation which inhibited negotiation, was repealed. On the part of several other political organisations somewhat remains to be done before they may become worthy participants of democracy.

Democracy is fundamentally a peaceful process. Parties still keeping violent options open are making progress towards a fully-fledged democracy more difficult. That, in itself, places obstacles in the way of reaching credible agreements during the constitutional negotiating process.

Overall, however, much progress has been made. In my speech on February the 1st 1991, I outlined a vision for the future in the manifesto for the new South Africa. Today, several of the most important aspects of that manifesto are already part of the agreed Declaration of Intent which was adopted in December 1991 by the historic Convention for a Democratic South Africa [Codesa]. Now Codesa working groups are negotiating and deliberating on a continuous basis on the foundations and principles on which a new constitutional system may be established successfully.

We are, therefore, firmly on course towards our goal of a free and democratic constitutional system based on the principle of representation for all and the elimination of domination and abuse of power.

In this context I wish to refer in greater detail to two aspects, namely transitional government and the status of Codesa.

Transitional Government

At the launching of Codesa on December the 30th 1991, I put the government's broad point of view in respect of a transitional government, among other things, as follows:

"We are convinced that it is in the best interests of South Africa and all its people for us to institute expeditiously, as a first phase, a government that is broadly representative of the total population. Such a generally representative government will not only see to the administration of the country, but will also be able to take the lead in further constitutional reform.

"We are equally convinced that the composition of Parliament, too, should be changed during this initial phase already, to include the total population in an equitable manner."

In the same speech I stated clearly that the institution of any transitional government would have to take place constitutionally and be based on power sharing.

Since there has been a great deal of speculation about this since then and in view of the importance of the subject, I wish to elaborate on this point of view today to refute the erroneous deductions that have been made.

Firstly, it is being alleged in certain circles that this amounts to the government yielding to pressure. That simply is not true. Numerous previous pronouncements prove that we have proclaimed a phased approach to constitutional changes to be a viable option throughout. On the 20th of September 1991 I did, for the first time, express the government's preference for this option, namely a transitional government as a first phase. We have always been and remain opposed to a so-called interim government which is not composed according to the Constitution or which governs by decree.

Secondly, our point of view on transitional government is being presented as being tantamount to abandoning important principles to which the government previously considered itself to be committed. That is equally untrue. The government's mandate, based on the National Party's Election Manifesto of 1989, includes in clear terms the principles of power-sharing without domination and universal suffrage for all South Africans. It is precisely these principles, in appropriate form, that we wish to make part of any transitional arrangements. If there may not be any domination in the ultimate new constitution, then this applies even more so to a transitional government.

Thirdly, the government's point of view on transitional government is being presented as a breach of confidence in respect of its undertaking that substantive changes to the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa would

be preceded either by an election or by a referendum. That, too, is totally untrue. I put it clearly at Codesa when I said:

"What we are not prepared to consider is the circumvention or suspension of the present Constitution of the Republic. Any substantive constitutional amendments, even if they are aimed at transitional measures only, will have to be adopted by Parliament after a mandate has been obtained by means of a referendum."

The government still stands by this. We are honour-bound to hold a referendum which will offer the electorates of each of the three Houses of Parliament the opportunity to express themselves on any substantive changes to the Constitution that may be proposed. At the same time, we also believe that the section of our population that does not take part in parliamentary elections at present, that is our black population, should also be given the opportunity of expressing itself in such a referendum.

Therefore, I envisage a referendum in which every South African will be able to take part and in which the result may be determined globally as well as per parliamentary voters' rolls. In this way, the legitimacy of any transitional government will be placed beyond doubt in a democratic manner. At the same time, the government will be honouring the undertaking it gave during the last election.

Only after such a referendum, and if the result is positive, will implementation follow. I also wish to emphasise that only Parliament as constituted at present has the power to amend the present Constitution.

Fourthly, there is suspicion that the government's proposal concerning transitional government is designed to ensure continued domination by whites or at least to the drawn-out withholding of full participation by black South Africans.

I wish to put it clearly that there are no grounds for this suspicion. The government is not playing games with this important issue. Its proposal is motivated on the one hand by the genuine conviction that the final negotiation of a comprehensive and all-embracing constitution will be best achieved under circumstances in which no party will be able to be accused of abusing governmental power to further its own interests. Only the institution of a transitional government that is broadly representative of the entire population will be able to ensure that.

The same applies to Parliament. Preferably the total population should participate in it through their elected representatives in order to create the required confidence. Therefore, when negotiations on a transitional government take place, we propose that Parliament be looked at simultaneously.

What the government envisages is a transitional government that will be subject to parliamentary control and which will have to submit legislation to Parliament. That

is the essence of democracy. Government by decree is not acceptable. Parliament has to be a fully-fledged part of every phase of constitutional change.

As far as the decision-taking procedures during such a transitional phase are concerned, the government is convinced that domination, in whatever form, has to be prevented effectively. Therefore, broad consensus will have to be reached during the negotiations on a transitional government on how domination will be eliminated. And that broad consensus will not be achieved unless there are credible guarantees against domination. Proposals of cosmetic guarantees for minorities are totally unacceptable.

Mr Speaker, mere reference to a transitional government conjures up a picture of temporariness and automatically raises the question: "How long will the transitional phase last?"

The government believes it would be unwise to commit a transitional government on this in a rigoristic manner in advance.

Since the most important parties will be part of a transitional government, their leaders will be in an excellent position themselves to determine the rate of continued change. The general climate in respect of violence and intimidation, as well as the degree of consensus on specific changes, together with a variety of other considerations, will determine the rate of change.

Therefore, the government believes that no prescriptive action should be taken. There has to be room for various possibilities. Rigidly defined periods, even before there is clarity about what has to be done next, may lead to an untenable situation. A reasonably high degree of flexibility is indicated.

At the same time, we are not opposed to any reasonable measures being taken to obviate unnecessary or willful delays. The sooner South Africa gets a comprehensive, all-embracing constitution, the better.

Self-Determination

The allegation is made that the principle of the self-determination of peoples cannot be discussed or negotiated within Codesa. That is not correct.

Both in the Declaration of Intent and in the terms of intent and in the terms of reference of Working Group 2, it is stated clearly that present and future participants will be entitled to put any proposal that is reconcilable with democracy, freely to Codesa.

The principle of the self-determination of peoples is recognised internationally. Eminent examples of this are to be found in the charter and several other formal documents of the United Nations. It goes without saying, therefore, that the principle of self-determination and its practical application may be discussed and negotiated at Codesa in a manner that is reconcilable with recognised fundamental rights.

The government has never expressed itself against the principle of the self-determination of nations. From experience, however, it did arrive at the conviction that its application, on the pattern of every people having its own sovereign state with its own territory, is not practically achievable in South Africa.

In addition, many of the steps taken over the years by successive governments to apply this principle to the maximum extent, led increasingly to racial separation, racial discrimination and domination. This led to an untenable and morally indefensible situation.

For that reason, the government undertook a whole series of fundamental policy changes. These included, among others, the removal of all forms of statutory discrimination and the suspension of all actions towards the further division of South Africa's territory on the basis of peoples, that is to say on an ethnic basis. We are convinced that partition and secession cannot work in South Africa, and for this reason a point of view in favour of an undivided state was adopted by us in 1985 already.

With that, the government has not abandoned the principle of self-determination. We believe that self-determination is able to find expression in many ways in South Africa, as it does in other countries. Thus, for example, there are several points of departure in the government's approach to a future constitution in which the principle of self-determination clearly asserts itself. These are to be found, among others, in the protection of language and cultural rights, community rights with strong community control and mother tongue education for those who desire it, the entrenching of the autonomy of interest organisations, strong devolution of authority to regional and local levels of government, a voice for local communities on all manner of community affairs, a variety of checks and balance at the executive and legislative levels and power-sharing linked to proportional representation.

Therefore, the government wishes to reiterate with emphasis that it still recognises the principle of self-determination of peoples and will welcome discussions and negotiation of any practical application of it in Codesa. There are certainly other variations of how self-determination may be applied which other parties may propose and which may be debated fruitfully.

It is intended that the representatives of the government in Working Group 2 will propose that the principle of self-determination of peoples in its varied manifestations in a society be discussed and that present and future participants be given the opportunity to put before it for negotiation, proposals regarding both the application of this principle in the South African situation and its practical implementation.

A considerable number of members of Codesa with whom this proposal was discussed as recently as last night have already expressed their agreement with it.

Consequently, I am convinced that there will be sufficient consensus to have the proposal adopted.

This step now opens the door to all proponents of the principle of the self-determination of peoples to participate freely and with confidence in negotiations on it and subject their particular points of view in this connection freely to negotiation.

In the interests of peace and the prevention of conflict, I urge the protagonists of the self-determination of peoples who are not yet part of the negotiating process to make use now, in the light of this development, of this open door.

Bill of Fundamental Rights

A new constitution cannot be separated from a bill of fundamental rights. The government is committed to the principle of a justiciable bill of fundamental rights as part of a new constitutional dispensation. That is why it took the initiative that led to the recent publication of the South African Law Commission's interim report on group and human rights.

In conjunction with this, the government has also taken the initiative of making a study of international conventions on fundamental rights, including the rights of women and children and the United Nations Declaration on Human Rights. We have already progressed a long way with this in the realisation that it is necessary for South Africa to come into line with the international community.

When we look at transitional constitutional arrangements, I believe fruitful consideration could also be given to the question whether a first phase of a bill of fundamental rights should not be part of them.

Such a phased arrangement could contribute a great deal to the establishment of a culture of fundamental rights and the orientation of governmental institutions, the legal fraternity and individuals to a coming, fully-fledged bill of rights dispensation. It would also give the courts an opportunity to develop judicial precedents in accordance with a rights dispensation and begin to create consequent judicial certainty in connection with the matter. In general, such a step should contribute towards a successful transition from the present system to that of a "rechtstaat" or constitutional state in which the rule of law prevails.

Status of Codesa

Consideration of all of these matters will have to be given in Codesa. The government sees Codesa as being of decisive importance to the achievement of agreements based on adequate consensus. We have advocated a multi-party conference from the outset and are grateful that it materialised within a relatively short time.

Together with the government's point of view on transitional government, it is necessary to emphasise, however, that Codesa is not or should not be an institution of

authority. It does not in any way take the place of the government, Parliament or any other legal institutions of authority. Codesa is neither a joint legislator nor a joint government and the government's participation in it does not in any way entail any relinquishing of its powers or authority or those of Parliament.

The correct balance has to be maintained between the orderly and efficient functioning of Parliament in terms of the Constitution and progress with the negotiating process in Codesa.

Codesa is an institution in which agreements will be reached through negotiation. The implementation of those agreements, depending on their nature, will continue to be vested in the relevant competent and legal institutions of authority.

In this connection it needs to be emphasised that the government, as is apparent from the Declaration of Intent, is obliged only to implement those things to which it has committed itself by way of agreement and which are within its powers.

The government is determined to maintain constitutional government. That applies to the government itself and includes the authority and integrity of Parliament as presently constituted and as it may be constituted in future. It also includes the security of all employees of the state, because constitutional government is possible only with a stable and professional public service.

Violence

Constitutional government also includes the maintenance of law and order by the South African Police, assisted - when necessary - by the South African Defence Force.

The maintenance or establishment by parties of private armies cannot be tolerated. Any activities which are illegal in this context, will be combatted with all available might by the country's legitimate security institutions. That this is being done is apparent from the successes achieved in 1991 with the tracing of illegal weapons.

Towards attaining our goal of ensuring peace and security for all South Africans, a great deal has been achieved over the past two years.

Arising from an earlier government initiative, the Peace Accord was concluded in September 1991.

Codesa was launched and almost all of the significant political leaders in South Africa are negotiating peacefully with one another.

Since 1990, the police establishment has been expanded by almost 18,000 members.

Assistance by the Defence Force takes place continuously with substantial manpower implications.

New initiatives have been taken and are being taken, such as the establishment of hundreds of satellite police stations and contact points and regular special operations.

A new riot control unit will be deployed in 1992.

We should soon be reaping the benefits of all of these steps to an increasing extent.

In the meantime, it is essential for every leader to assume joint responsibility for ending the climate of violence.

They have to stop seeking all the blame elsewhere and should take greater pains to motivate their followers to peaceful behaviour.

Mass actions, which so often lead to violence, have to be kept to a minimum. Where they do occur, they have to be better managed and controlled.

Inciting speeches and pronouncements have to cease and the letter and spirit of the Peace Accord have to be honoured.

If everyone were to sweep before his own door and stop undermining the South African Police and placing it under suspicion, things will improve very quickly.

It is unjustified to try to put the blame for the current violence, particularly in the black residential areas, on the security forces. On the contrary, all political leaders owe a debt of gratitude and appreciation to our security forces and should go out of their way to boost their confidence and morale.

Only if the masses respect our men and women in uniform and have confidence in them will they be able to be fully effective. Only if political leaders are responsible in their utterances about our security forces will the masses develop that confidence and respect.

Naturally mistakes are made in the security forces. Certainly individual members do not always act faultlessly - neither in other countries nor in South Africa. In such cases there are adequate mechanisms for investigating allegations of improper involvement in violence by members of the security forces.

It is, in fact, the government that took the initiative in introducing these mechanisms and the government itself refers relevant allegations for investigation. Just recently there was such a referral to the Goldstone Commission.

Instead of making use of these mechanisms, however, there still are those who persist in denigrating the security forces. To those taking part in that I wish to say today:

The deaths of so many members of the police force in 1991 as a result of unrest or murder should be as much on the consciences of those who persist with incitement to violence and undermining of our security forces as on the consciences of those who caused their deaths. I wish to pay tribute to the members of the police force who

gave their lives for a better South Africa. We honour their memory. We express our sincere sympathy with their next of kin. Their deaths are a great loss to us.

At the same time I wish to express my sincere sympathy on behalf of the government to all civilian South Africans who lost loved ones in this period of political violence. Their deaths are an indictment of all those who do not wish to honestly take the road of negotiation which is now open to everybody.

May this tragic chapter in our history move everyone to positive action towards ensuring the success of the negotiation process as soon as possible. Therein lies the solution.

Crime

The high crime rate is equally disturbing. I could digress at length about its causes: similar trends in the rest of the world as well as the relationship of crime, political unrest and unemployment. Perspective on these factors is necessary, because the solution to the crime problem does not lie in policing alone. Nonetheless, enforcement of the law remains a key factor and the government does not wish, in any way, to evade its responsibility in this connection.

In contrast with allegations to the contrary, the government has taken far-reaching steps to improve law enforcement. The budget of the Department of Law and Order was increased from R [rand] 1,900 million in 1988/89 to R4,600 million in 1991/92. In addition to the expansion of the strength of the police and the establishment of satellite police stations and contact points, many other steps were taken. They include:

The revision and improvement of training.

The administrative utilisation of large numbers of civilians to enable policemen and women to be used more effectively against crime.

The regular deployment of special actions on a large scale. These include regular use of road blocks, more intensive patrolling, a bigger police presence in crowd situations, such as at railway stations and on trains, and improved cooperation with organisations and law-abiding citizens who are prepared to make a contribution.

In the administration of justice, together with the aforementioned, the effectiveness of the courts, access to them and the imposition of punishment are receiving ongoing attention.

Much has been done to make the functioning of our courts more effective, for example by the recent introduction of mobile and auxiliary courts at strategic places. Attorneys-general themselves take the initiative in investigations of serious crimes of violence in which delays occur and judges are involved in inquests when appropriate.

Legislation designed to improve the protection of witnesses against intimidation has been initiated. A project to inform witnesses about their rights and obligations has been launched.

As far as the imposition of punishment is concerned, due cognizance has been taken of the increase in serious crime and the community's need for penalties which are sufficiently deterrent. Attorneys-general and their staff consistently draw the attention of the courts to this fact.

In combatting crime and violence it is ultimately essential for all South Africans to join hands and co-operate with one another in order to deal with these pressing problems effectively.

The government will do its duty and will not allow chaos and lawlessness to destroy the country. I urge all South Africans to do their duty as well. They may do this, for example, by joining neighbourhood watches and protecting themselves and their property by acting sensibly and co-operating with the police.

As in the political arena, the emerging new South Africa faces daunting challenges in the economic sphere. Chief among these is the pressing need to accelerate the process of economic growth to generate work and income for our fast-increasing workforce and to support the extensive development programmes we have embarked upon.

Fortunately, the days are past when economic realities could be brushed aside with the facile claim that all things would come to those who sought first the political kingdom. It is encouraging that there has been a steadily growing recognition over the past two years of the fact that the profound changes now taking place in the constitutional sphere will not, on their own, alter either the nature of the economic challenge facing us as a country, or the steps needed to meet it.

Therefore, it is vital that high priority be given to the consistent execution of economic policy. To this end and with a view to the promotion of economic growth, the responsible handling of the downswing phase which began almost three years ago and preparing for the next upswing phase, I committed the government to several important goals and policy stances on February the 2nd 1990 and February the 1st 1991.

The over-arching goal we have accepted is prosperity for all, based on a free and just economic system. In this connection, too, it is appropriate to take stock and ask where we stand.

In spite of several unavoidable local and international factors having had a directly negative impact on the course of our economy in the mean time, we are able today to report good progress and results in several respects and make a positive prognosis.

State Expenditure

The long recession, with all of the social problems it brings with it, coupled on the one hand with urbanisation, droughts and natural disasters, and on the other with combatting crime and violence, has placed heavy demands on the government.

We have had to grapple with the resulting strong and often justifiable demands for higher state spending, but we have succeeded in limiting expenditure to levels which could be financed with minimal disruption.

However, if we are to ensure that the level and composition of state expenditure plays an ongoing positive role in economic growth, additional and relatively drastic structural changes will have to be made, especially in respect of current expenditure. For that reason, a tight rein is being kept on all allocations for 1992/93.

Furthermore, all government departments will have to submit a proper management plan shortly to ensure that they keep within their reduced allocations. New approaches and methods are being used to this end, and unprecedented discipline in respect of public spending will be applied in the coming financial year.

Taxation

Our determination to keep state expenditure within rigorous limits is not a mere fad. The high and rising level of such expenditure impinges directly on our already onerous burden of tax and debt-servicing.

We are still pursuing the systematic lowering of tax rates on companies and individuals alike in order to neutralise their adverse impact on domestic interest rates and savings and improve our international competitiveness. Regrettably, however, the circumstances to which I have referred have prevented the government from moving as rapidly on this front as it would have wished. Nevertheless, it remains a matter of urgent importance.

South Africa's return to the international financial and trading markets will have a positive influence on our economic growth capability. However, it will not follow automatically on the disappearance of international constraints, but will hinge rather on investor confidence and the commercial imperatives of quality, price and assured delivery in a highly competitive world market.

Only through the sustained improvement of our international competitive edge will we be able to raise our growth and employment-creation platform. Adherence to our commitment to further cuts in the tax rates of companies and individuals is an indispensable part of our policy package to this end, and will, of course, also bring much-needed relief to our people.

To this we remain committed and inasmuch as it is at all possible, it will be attended to in the coming budget, difficult as that may be.

The successful implementation of VAT [Value-Added Tax] as a broadly-based consumption tax is an important step in our ongoing reform programme. The cut in the rate from the proposed 12 per cent to 10 per cent has meant a not unappreciable loss of revenue, but has helped, together with other forms of aid, to reduce any adverse impact of the change-over from gst, particularly for the less-privileged.

It is common knowledge that both the change-over to VAT and the decline in economic activity have affected income to an extent which, according to our best available information at present, will result in a higher deficit than planned. Fortunately, this temporary imbalance was concentrated in a period of pronounced weakness in general demand. Therefore, it performed a valuable countercyclical role, was easily financed and had a negligible effect on inflation, which is still in a long term downtrend to healthier levels.

Monetary Discipline

We have set ourselves various goals in the sphere of monetary policy implementation. Good progress is being made in reaching them.

We are succeeding in our objective of securing surpluses on the current account of the balance of payments to meet international obligations and to build up reserves in support of the coming economic upturn. We enjoy a high credit standing as shown already by the acquisition of substantial new foreign loans. Since February 1990, the Reserve Bank's net gold and foreign exchange reserves rose by R5,700 million and are currently standing at R9,000 million.

Similarly, we are making good progress with the control of the money supply. This improved control has undoubtedly served to neutralise one of the major causes of our inflation in recent times. Low productivity in the application of both labour and capital and a lack of effective competition, remain among the major problems in our fight against inflation. At present, however, there are encouraging signs of progress.

Evidence also continues to accumulate to the effect that the previously chronic expectations of continued inflation are beginning to decline. Particularly encouraging was the far-sighted productivity and price related wage agreement reached in the mining industry which we hope will set the pattern for other such negotiations. The fall in the latest production price index is equally encouraging.

Naturally there are still several economic problem areas in the economy which place our country before tough challenges. The extent, nature and intensity of the drought problem is one of them; and in this area we shall continue to provide, within our ability, the maximum help to our producers. Our country dare not become a nett importer of food.

These and other challenges will be discussed further during this session and are receiving the government's ongoing attention. I am convinced that our economic and financial policy package, taken as a whole, is correct from the point of view of promoting growth and prosperity. We are managing economic and financial policy on the basis of a specific short and long term strategy.

Certain adjustments and additions are indicated, however, if we are to unlock South Africa's full potential and I commit the government's best efforts to this end.

Meanwhile, we stand on the eve of a moderate economic upturn. The special measures we have already taken, the large expenditures by several bodies now coming on stream with financing by the authorities, and the massive investment programmes recently announced by a number of large South African enterprises, all go far towards supporting a much more positive outlook - which is just what we need.

Our country is able to call on the ability, the infrastructure, the resources and the people needed to become a winner - not least in the economic sphere. And this is what we will be - what in fact we shall have to be - if we are to meet and overcome the difficult social problems our country faces.

Social Affairs

There is an increasingly greater demand for more and better health services, education, housing and welfare services. If we wish to realise South Africa's economic potential, we shall have to overcome the problems of a birth rate that is too high, of poverty, illiteracy, overheated urbanisation, social malfunctioning of communities and family disintegration.

In the knowledge that all of this and more is urgently necessary, we are seeking progress for all South Africans within an equitable social dispensation. In respect of this goal, too, we are still on course towards achieving progress for more and more South Africans.

There is significant progress towards equal education opportunities and we are engaged energetically with educational renewal and restructuring our system. This includes greater emphasis on career-oriented education to increase the relevance of education to our pupils and our country.

Thousands of millions of rand have been allocated by means of extraordinary provision and are being spent directly and indirectly at present on education, housing, clinics, the expansion and improvement of primary health care, combatting aids, nutritional development, sport and recreational facilities and services. Together with all of this, statutory discrimination has been removed and land and social services rendered accessible to all South Africans in a non-discriminatory manner.

As it has done in the economic, security and constitutional development fields, therefore, the government has, also in the social field, begun to give shape, systematically and energetically, to its vision of the future.

Naturally, the challenges facing us in the social field cannot be dealt with by the government alone. To really succeed in improving the living conditions of people also requires the purposeful participation of everybody and every community.

Greater emphasis has to be placed on community participation in the solution of our social problems.

In spite of all the means of assistance, real success will ultimately be co-determined to a high degree by underdeveloped communities themselves. They, themselves, will have to do more to resist the tyranny of intimidation, violence and boycotts; they themselves will have to find a way to help prevent their amenities and those of their children from being destroyed by vandalism and senseless violence.

Only if a culture of honest endeavour and respect for authority, meeting obligations and tolerance is re-established in those communities, will the funds being spent and the other forms of assistance being rendered begin to produce a full return in terms of progress. The best endeavours to improve the living conditions of those who are suffering are being hampered seriously by the so-called "struggle".

There is no reason for struggle and revolt any longer. Those trying to perpetuate it artificially have become the enemies of those still burdened by poverty and disadvantage. It is they who are deterring foreign investors, burning down schools and bringing education to a standstill, who are disrupting health services and casting townships into conditions of chaos.

To all South Africans who are enduring hardships I wish to say today: Join forces with the peacemakers and those who wish to work together in peace. The inciters, intimidators and perpetrators of violence do not care about you. You are their victims. They are your enemies. Better living conditions will not accrue to you through confrontation, but through co-operation.

International Relations

The co-operation to which I have referred should not be confined only to South Africans at home. The prosperity and progress to which all are aspiring are just as inextricably linked to South Africa's return to the world arena. That, too, was part of our vision for a better South Africa.

Today we are able to look back over the past two years and say without compunction that we are well on the way to achieving this aim as well.

The extension and improvement of our bilateral relations are reflected in many ways - in the crumbling of sanctions; in the actions of the United Nations and other

multilateral bodies such as the OAU, the Commonwealth and the European Community, which are preparing the ground for future co-operation in a variety of fields - cultural, economic, academic, scientific and human development; in the many visits which members of the Cabinet and I have been called upon to pay, particularly in countries and regions which were formerly unwilling to receive us; and in the many high-ranking visitors we receive.

1991 was a year in which Africa and Central Europe opened their doors to us. These valuable relationships will be strengthened in 1992. At the same time, the importance of the nations of the Indian and Pacific Oceans, in a world in which South Africa is able to freely seek its trading partners, becomes self-evident and has paved the way for establishing new diplomatic links and trade missions in this region.

The opportunities offered by the lifting of sanctions on a global basis, the opening of new markets, the reciprocal attention by other countries to the markets offered by South Africa and the growing number of countries in which there is an official South African presence, heighten the government's direct concern in the momentous global changes which have marked, and will continue to mark, the last decade of the twentieth century.

It is a pity, therefore, that certain elements in South Africa are still persisting with their efforts to delay the normalisation of South Africa's international relations. Those who are doing so, are swimming against the tide. In spite of a temporary success here and there, they are rapidly losing the grip they once had on the foreign policies of many countries towards South Africa. The world outside wishes to see orderly reform succeed and are critical of elements that are negative. The ending of our isolation has become irreversible.

We cannot afford to waste any time in this regard. Together with other African states, we have to adjust to a new situation. A cold war between two superpowers has given way to a completely new situation. We are now living in a world in which the term superpower no longer has a purely military overtone but also implies economic performance and human development.

Economic powers which have emerged in this process, such as Germany and Japan, will assert themselves in the regional context, and groupings such as the European Community and the Pacific Rim will assume dominant roles.

To survive in this competitive climate, the countries of Africa will have to take concerted action. They will have to jettison internal conflict in favour of a strategy of regional organisation and planning. This will oblige the industrial nations to reverse the process of marginalising individual states and to recognise that our continent is a part of global and regional interaction.

South Africa is ready to play its part and I reiterate my call today to the countries of southern Africa, indeed of

sub-Saharan Africa, to join us in this vital and urgent endeavour. Time is of the essence.

Mr Speaker, today we are looking back on two significant years of dramatic sea change. As I have indicated, however, it was also a period in which a deliberate foundation was laid for the achievement of our goals of peace, prosperity, progress and participation by all.

All of this has placed us before one of the greatest tests in the history of our country - the test to succeed in honestly negotiating a new constitutional dispensation.

There are some political parties and organisations that are still shying away from it. They ought to know that their refusal to take part will not halt the changes. What has been begun, has to be concluded. Without successful negotiations, long-term peace and prosperity cannot be assured.

There are others who are taking part, but who, at the same time, are acting by way of their utterances and mass actions, as if they are not participating. Their actions are in conflict with the spirit of negotiation and are contrary to the agreements already reached. They must know that the government will not allow itself to be steam-rolled or intimidated. All they are achieving is to undermine the credibility of negotiation. If this continues, it will inevitably delay progress.

The government is determined to make 1992 a year of significant progress. It can be done.

To all South Africans my message is: Bear up! Through constructive negotiation we shall establish a new dispensation that will offer security and justice to every section of our population. We shall not be satisfied with anything less.

Be strong in keeping faith. Our future is in the hands of an Almighty and Merciful God.

Mr Speaker, Members of Parliament, I declare this Fourth Session of the Ninth Parliament of the Republic of South Africa to be duly opened.

Issued by the Office of the State President

24 January 1992

Minister Viljoen Comments

MB2401124592 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network
in English 1015 GMT 24 Jan 92

[Interview with Constitutional Development Minister Dr. Gerrit Viljoen by South African Broadcasting Corporation correspondent Lester Venter in Cape Town—live]

[Text] [Venter, in Afrikaans] Good afternoon from our parliamentary studio. I am Lester Venter, and I have with me Constitutional Development Minister Dr. Gerrit Viljoen to discuss issues relating to the state president's address at the opening of Parliament. Our

discussion will be for overseas consumption, and for that reason, we will be speaking in English. [changes to English] Dr. Viljoen, I would like to begin with possibly one of the most interesting—politically most interesting—aspects of the speech, and that is the call from the state president to parties not participating in Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] to do so. Now, in a recent interview that we had with the leader of the opposition, the Conservative Party, Dr. Andries Treurnicht, he referred specifically to the Declaration of Intent, pointing to the fact that the Declaration of Intent of Codesa called for a unitary state. The state president is now pointing out that this is not so. Your comment on this?

[Viljoen] It is not correct that the Declaration of Intent calls for a unitary state. It calls for a single state. A unitary state means a state which is highly centralized, and one should be very careful about these terms. It has been made very clear that in the Declaration of Intent, emphasis is placed on no further fragmentation of South Africa into separate states, and the state president made it quite clear that already in 1985 the National Party had committed itself to a policy abandoning the concept of creating new independent states separate from the body of the South African state.

The use of the word undivided South Africa in the Declaration of Intent of Codesa means no more and no less than this—namely, that you have to do with a single state, and no further fragmentation into new, independent states. In fact, the door is open also, in terms of the working groups that have been set up, for those independent states which had been part of South Africa to be considered for reintegration into the single South African state.

But the way in which this state is governed, in terms of the Declaration of Intent, is left an open matter. In other words, whether it should be a centralized state, with all the powers in the central government—which seems to be the preference of the ANC [African National Congress] and its allies—and, on the other hand, the option of a regionalized system, where constitutionally defined and entrenched rights are assigned not only to the central government, but also, in its own right, to the regional government and, for that matter, to the local government. My experience in Codesa has been that if you have a head count there—although Codesa, of course, does not decide by head counts—but, if you have a head count there, there is extremely strong support for the regional option.

[Venter] I see. Dr., I, of course, cannot ask you to speak on Dr. Treurnicht's behalf, and I certainly hope that we'll have an opportunity to talk to Dr. Treurnicht himself soon. But, might I ask you what your expectations are that this new development might have on the factor of participation in Codesa?

[Viljoen] I think it is very important also to recall that, in the terms of reference of the different working groups

which have been generally published, reference is made to the commitment towards a statement of intent, that such a statement of intent is also subject to amendment. For instance, Working Group Two, which deals with constitutional principles, has to keep in mind the statement of intent, as amended from time to time. In other words, there is an openness that negotiations, especially revolving around the question of self-determination, could lead to adjustments resulting from agreement of the statement of intent as well.

[Venter] I see. Dr., before we leave this particular point, the state president mentioned that he had discussed the proposal of getting the issue or the principle of self-determination on the Codesa agenda as late as last night with a number of participants. Are you in a position to tell us who those participants are?

[Viljoen] No, I don't think I can reveal that at this stage. Some of them, I think, will be taking initiatives on their own accord, and for the rest, I am sure that the state president will, when the time is ripe, refer to specific cases there.

[Venter] I imagine so. But the state president did say that he was convinced that there would be sufficient consensus to have the proposal adopted, so I suppose that gives us a clue of who was involved in those discussions last night. Dr., I would like to move on to the next important constitutional chapter in the opening speech, and that is the issue of transitional government. Now, the language seems to have broadened itself a little bit. The state president is now talking about the creation of a transitional government, and a transitional parliament, for want of a better expression. Definitely now, the emphasis seems to be falling on two aspects of transitional administration: a government and a parliament.

[Viljoen] That is correct, yes. The state president has all along emphasized that what he has offered in his Codesa speech in December was the need for an urgent priority to be given to what he's been calling a first phase of constitutional reform, in the form of a transitional government. And he from the outset made it clear that the word government is used in the broad sense, as not only including the executive or the cabinet, which should be representative of the broad population, but also that Parliament, which is presently representing only a part of the population, should ensure—at least the transitional arrangement should ensure—that Parliament should be broadly representative, through elected representatives of the people as a whole in South Africa.

[Venter] I'd like to get onto specifically about how we are going to arrive at a newly constituted parliament, but before we do, you talk about phased development, and this is all new emphasis in the language as well, the development of the reform process. Without looking too much in detail and giving away strategy, could you perhaps just tell us what the chapter headings of phases two and onwards might be?

[Viljoen] I think that is a matter which one couldn't really define at this stage. It would depend upon the extent to which innovation is introduced in the transitional phase of the Constitution, and it would furthermore depend upon what the leaders who will come forward to take the political leadership under the transitional constitution, in terms of the experience that they build up in interaction with each other in a new governmental system, consider further changes to be necessary. So, both the extent of the initial stage and the experience upon which further changes could be motivated and could be considered necessary would determine the answer to that question.

[Venter] One more preliminary before we get to what I think is probably the heart of this particular matter, and that is the question of power sharing. That's a term that's been used for quite some time, and there have at least been changes in emphasis of the meaning of that term. When the state president is now talking about there must be power sharing in the transitional government that is being envisaged by the government, what exactly does power sharing mean right now?

[Viljoen] I think that power sharing in terms of what the state president has been stating is basically the concept on which the approach of the government and of the National Party has all along been based—namely, that not only the majority party should exercise political power after an election, but that the major parties, as many as possible of the major, important parties, should share in the decisionmaking both at the legislative level and in the executive.

[Venter] This is according to the constitutional proposals as put forward by the National Party. Now, on the creation of a new parliament, an issue that will precede that is a referendum, once presumably the Working Group Two dealing with constitutional principles has done its work. Exactly what will a referendum be based on? What will be the issue that will be referred to in the referendum?

[Viljoen] I imagine that a referendum would become necessary and would become practical the moment—as a result of the negotiations—there is agreement on a new first phase of constitutional change—in other words, a transitional constitution for a transitional government. That would, I believe, entail the whole variety of matters which are relevant in a constitution; in other words, the negotiations would result in a constitution dealing with the legislative aspect, with the executive aspects, with the question of acquisition of the courts of law, whether they should already then—as I believe should be the case—have the testing power to ensure that all acts of government are in accordance with the Constitution, and to ensure that the Constitution is really the supreme law of the land, and that we move from the concept of parliamentary sovereignty—already then—into the situation of a constitutional state in which the Constitution, under control of the courts of law, is sovereign.

[Venter] I see. On a very practical level, Mr. de Klerk is referring to the participation of the elected leaders of black South Africans in this newly constituted parliament. How are we going to get there? Is this going to be an appointed parliament? Is it going to be an elected parliament, and are we talking about creating a fourth chamber as an adjunct to the present three-chamber Parliament?

[Viljoen] The composition and the nature of the parliament in a transitional government is a matter to be negotiated, and President de Klerk hasn't committed himself to any details. What he has stated is that it would be preferable that not only the executive, but also the parliament in this transitional stage, should become representative of the population as a whole, and if that would entail elections, so be it then.

[Venter] I see. This would entail also the creation of the black voters' roll.

[Viljoen] Yes, it could also entail, for instance, a two-chamber system as has been proposed by a number of parties, including the National Party, for a future constitution.

[Venter] So, this could conceivably, apart from a referendum, involve a national election and conceivably, furthermore, on a nonracial basis.

[Viljoen] A national election in terms of the new constitution, yes.

[Venter] I see. On the issue of a referendum, before we leave that: What are the aspects implied in holding a referendum in which the attitude of the population can be tested, both globally and individually, as far as ethnic groups is concerned? Is the implication that white South Africans, or any group for that matter, theoretically, could hold a veto, because the president specifically says: If the result is positive, we will go ahead with the implementation? Do you think other participants in Codesa could conceivably accept that aspect of a veto?

[Viljoen] I think the reality of the state president's undertaking at his electorate during the election of 1989, that he would not implement the constitutional result of a negotiated, new constitution unless he has first obtained the endorsement from his electorate, is a fact. It is a fact which one should face, that there was no possibility that the state president would have obtained a mandate if he had not given this assurance, because at that stage, the mandate he had asked for was a mandate for instituting a power-sharing type of government, with universal franchise, with a vote for everybody in South Africa, balanced by minority protection and the principle of power sharing. He had not spelled out, at that stage, the details as to how he wanted to structure such a new constitution.

But, he obtained a mandate for a fundamental change in which the whole constitutional system would involve the participation at all levels of government, of all South

Africans, whether they are white, or colored, or black. For that purpose, at that stage, he found it necessary to give this assurance. In other words, without that assurance, without that undertaking, there was no mandate, and having this mandate opened the door, opened the road for the whole process of negotiation. In other words, that was an essential element in enabling the process of negotiation toward a new constitution to begin.

Furthermore, I think, in terms of the realities of South Africa, it should be obvious that it is going to be extremely difficult to implement a new constitution unless the population as a whole and the major populations groups, are not in favor of such a new constitution. [sentence as heard] The mere practical and common-sense question of how this will work in practice depends very largely on the fact that it is able to state in terms of a referendum, that the population as a whole as well as the main population groups, are positively in favor of this new constitution. That would ensure a practical, a peaceful, and generally accepted progress into a new dispensation.

[Venter] I understand. Forgive me for shortening our discussion here. The state president, of course, dealt with other matters, economic and social, but it is customary for the state president not to anticipate the budget. So, very briefly—and we have about one minute left to talk—the issue of the duration of the transitional government that we are talking about, the heart of the matter, has led to some confusion. Now, the ANC has already stated that they envisage roughly 18 months. The president is saying today that he is not looking at a long period. How do you feel about 18 months, roughly?

[Viljoen] I think it will all depend upon certain practicalities. First of all, progress in negotiating a transitional constitution, or any important matter, will depend on the degree of stability and on the absence of violence in the whole process.

Second, it will depend upon the ability of parties to achieve consensus. If both these matters are positive, then progress towards obtaining a new constitution will be relatively fast. If these two areas raise difficulties, then obviously a longer term of negotiation will be required.

[Venter] I see. Dr. Viljoen, thank you very much.

[Viljoen] You're very welcome.

DP Says De Klerk 'Unclear' on Transition

*MB2401150492 Umtata Capital Radio in English
1300 GMT 24 Jan 92*

[Text] The Democratic Party [DP] says it's happy with most aspects of President F.W. de Klerk's opening of Parliament speech, but DP leader Zach de Beer says he wants clarity on a number of issues. De Beer says the good news is that de Klerk has committed himself clearly to rapid progress in the constitutional process. He says

the bad news is that de Klerk's explanation of what he proposes in regard to transitional government is still unclear.

ANC Statement Criticizes Address

*MB2401153292 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1438 GMT 24 Jan 92*

[SAPA PR Wire Service issued by the African National Congress, ANC: "ANC press statement on the response to President de Klerk's opening address to Parliament"; date and place not given]

[Text] President de Klerk's speech today has not taken the process towards peace and democracy forward. Demonstrating an insensitivity, uncaring attitude and complacency towards the plight of millions of people whose lives have been ruined by the system of apartheid, his speech fails to acknowledge the havoc that this system has wrought on the lives of the people of our country. His suggestion that the people themselves, and the struggle they continue to wage, are responsible for their socio-economic impoverishment is an outrage.

Precisely because he refuses to recognise the illegitimacy of his regime and its constitution, he arrogantly claims the right to unilaterally restructure the economy.

De Klerk suggests that the existing constitutional authority should be at the centre of all moves in the transition to democracy. Instead of recognising that it is struggle by the people that has brought us to the threshold of a future South Africa, he asserts that struggle is an impediment to progress and he enjoins our people to place their trust in the discredited constitutional authority representing a mere five percent of the population.

The speech fails to deal with the central concerns of the oppressed people of South Africa who live under constant violence. Instead of announcing steps towards addressing this, he implies that the victims and their organisations are, in fact, the cause.

He brushes aside the massive evidence of state involvement in systematic violence, terror, and intimidation. In this situation, while there are almost four hundred political prisoners still in jail, while there is increasing evidence of how state funds have been used to undermine the ANC [African National Congress] and deny free political activity, he has the audacity to claim that he has levelled the playing field.

The apartheid regime has shown its incapacity to ensure free political activity. It is, therefore, essential to move rapidly to establish an interim government. We reject transitional arrangements of long duration, with built-in delaying mechanisms.

De Klerk deliberately continues to invoke the need for a referendum which we all know is designed to give the white minority a veto over fundamental changes. Any electoral processes that take place should be for the

purpose of constituting a body charged with the task of drawing up a new constitution, conducted on the basis of one person one vote on a common voters' roll. Since, among other things, interim arrangements are intended to ensure free and fair elections, such elections cannot precede the setting up of an interim government.

We agree that the principle of self-determination and its application in the South African situation are legitimate issues to be addressed at Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa]. We reiterate our call to the Conservative Party, the HNP [Herstigte Nasionale Party; Reformed National Party], the AWB [Afrikaner Resistance Movement] and others, to come into Codesa and debate their proposals. We call on the PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress] and Azapo [Azanian People's Organization] to reconsider their non-participation.

However, the way in which President de Klerk links self-determination to constitutionally enforced power-sharing with a built-in white minority veto undermines the very principle he purports to uphold.

We who have waged our struggle for the realisation of the principle of self-determination for all the people of our country, as recognised in the UN Charter and its conventions, believe that its application in our situation can only be realised in the form of a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic South Africa.

In conformity with this, we have championed respect for the legitimate linguistic, religious, and cultural rights for all sections of the South African population. What we are not prepared to tolerate is the protection of privileges accumulated through the monopoly of power exercised by a white minority.

De Klerk demonstrates an astonishing sense of urgency to end apartheid South Africa's isolation by the international community. When dealing with the international community, De Klerk stresses that time is of the essence. When it comes to internal developments, that sense of urgency is glaringly absent.

At the ANC's instance, the world has moved to recognise the victories that we have scored in struggle. The actions of the international community are linked to progress on the path of negotiations.

The march on Parliament expresses our people's desire for a speedy end to apartheid and the dissolution of the Parliament of the oppressors.

We do not need lessons in democracy from this discredited apartheid regime.

Mass action is our right, struggle is a necessity! [Signed] National Executive Committee African National Congress PO Box 61884 Marshalltown 2107 24 January 1992

More on ANC Reaction

MB2401151692 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1458 GMT 24 Jan 92

[Text] Johannesburg Jan 24 SAPA—State President F.W. de Klerk had not advanced the process toward peace and democracy in his speech opening Parliament on Friday the African National Congress [ANC] said.

Reacting to Mr de Klerk's opening address, the ANC said at a press conference in Soweto that, demonstrating an insensitivity, uncaring attitude and complacency toward the plight of millions of people whose lives had been ruined by the system of apartheid, the president's speech had failed to acknowledge the havoc that this system had wrought.

"His suggestion that the people themselves, and the struggle they continue to wage, are responsible for their socio-economic impoverishment is an outrage.

"Precisely because he refuses to recognise the illegitimacy of his regime and its constitution, he arrogantly claims the right to unilaterally restructure the economy."

The ANC said the state president had suggested that the existing constitutional authority should be at the centre of all moves in the transition to democracy. "Instead of recognising that it is struggle by the people that has brought us to the threshold of a future South Africa, he asserts that struggle is an impediment to progress and he enjoins our people to place their trust in a discredited constitutional authority representing a mere five percent of the population."

The speech failed to deal with the central concerns of the oppressed people of South Africa who lived under constant violence. "Instead of announcing steps toward addressing this he implies that the victims and their organisations are in fact the cause."

The South African Government had shown its incapacity to ensure free political activity. "It is therefore essential to move rapidly to establish an interim government. We reject transitional arrangements of long duration, with built-in delaying mechanisms."

Parties React to Address

MB2401155692 Johannesburg South African Broadcasting Corporation Network in English
1500 GMT 24 Jan 92

[Excerpts] The leader of the official opposition in the House of Assembly, Dr. Andries Treurnicht, says the Conservative Party [CP] is still not prepared to take part in Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] despite the statement by the state president that self-determination will be placed on the agenda of one of the Codesa working committees.

Reacting to President F.W. de Klerk's opening of Parliament speech, Dr. Treurnicht said he found it strange that

Mr. de Klerk had to consult Codesa about self-determination and would not take a stand on this issue himself. He said Codesa had made it clear in its declaration of intent that its aim was a unitary government, and that the CP could not take part in negotiations on this basis.

The secretary general of the National Party, Dr. Stoffel van der Merwe, said in his reaction that the state president had confirmed that the principle of self-determination could be discussed at Codesa. He said that this had removed all stumbling blocks preventing parties from participating in Codesa. Dr. van der Merwe said that there was no excuse for any party not to participate in Codesa. He said that President de Klerk delivered a consolidating speech today in which he gave more clarity about the progress made in negotiations during the past two years.

Referring to self-determination, the leader of the Democratic Party, Dr. Zach de Beer, said that the parties' representatives at Codesa would support Mr. de Klerk's proposal that the issue be put on the agenda. He expressed the hope that this would cause the CP to rethink its position and that it would join Codesa. [passage omitted]

The viewpoint of the president of the ANC [African National Congress], Mr. Nelson Mandela, is that he agrees that the principle of self-determination and its implementation are valid issues that should be dealt with by Codesa. However, he said the way in which President de Klerk linked self-determination to constitutionally enforced power sharing, with a built-in white minority veto, undermined the principle of self-determination. Mr. Mandela said that in his speech President de Klerk had indicated that he had not moved away from the concept of an interim government that could rule for many years. He said this was totally unacceptable to the ANC.

The leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party, Dr. Mangosuthu Buthelezi, has welcomed President de Klerk's proposal that the principle of self-determination be put on Codesa's agenda. He said that this meant there was now place for the Conservative Party in Codesa. He appealed to the CP to participate in the negotiation process. Dr. Buthelezi also said he welcomed President de Klerk's proposal that change be introduced in a manner which fully utilized the parliamentary process.

The Labor Party said in its reaction that it rejected a different referendum for each of the three houses of Parliament, as well as a separate one for blacks. The leader of the Labor Party, the Reverend Allan Hendrickse, said that Mr. de Klerk had claimed that he already had a mandate for change and that there was no need for a separate white referendum. Mr. Hendrickse said that the wishes of whites, who represented 15 percent of the population, could not override the wishes of the majority.

Mandela Views De Klerk Speech

MB2401171792 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1702 GMT 24 Jan 92

[Text] Johannesburg Jan 24 SAPA—President F.W. de Klerk's intention to hold a referendum for white South Africans on current constitutional negotiations was inspired by his desire to be guided by white attitudes, said African National Congress [ANC] President Nelson Mandela.

"He wants to be guided by their attitudes," Mr. Mandela told a large contingent of foreign and local reporters on Friday at a Soweto news conference, outside Johannesburg, in his initial reaction to Mr. de Klerk's parliamentary speech.

Mr. Mandela was referring to the government's stated expression of holding a referendum for white South Africans testing their views on negotiations.

In his address to Parliament earlier on Friday, Mr. de Klerk also said: "We are honour-bound to hold a referendum which will offer the electorates of each of the three houses of Parliament the opportunity to express themselves on any substantive change to the Constitution that may be proposed".

Referring to the holding of a referendum, Mr. Mandela told reporters: "It is ridiculous in our own view to embark on negotiations and then go and consult a particular ethnic group whose response might be negative".

He said he believed all politicians, black and white, did not regard themselves as leaders of particular ethnic groups.

Mr. Mandela further said he could not see how any public figure could undertake such an expensive exercise with a minority group which represented only five percent of the entire population.

Mr. Mandela also reiterated his organisation's rejection of the government supervising the transition process.

"We believe... we maintain that an organ of government which can supervise the transition process must be one that represents all the people."

Mr. de Klerk said the government envisaged a transitional government that would be subject to parliamentary control and which would have to submit legislation to Parliament.

Mr. Mandela also was strongly opposed to the formation of interim government that would oversee transition process for a longer period.

Asked whether the ANC would continue to use mass action as part of its strategy, Mr. Mandela told the news conference that this depended on the government response to the demands of the people.

"If the regime responds negatively we won't fold our arms."

The ANC has promised to issue a full response to Mr de Klerk's speech after it has studied the address.

Sisulu Addresses 'Peoples' Parliament' 24 Jan

MB2401095492 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0906 GMT 24 Jan 92

[SAPA PR Wire Service issued by African National Congress: "Speech by the deputy president of the ANC, Comrade Walter Sisulu, Peoples' Parliament, Cape Town, 24 January 1992"]

[Text] Comrade chairperson, members of the diplomatic corps, distinguished guests, comrades and fellow countrymen, representatives of our people gathered at this historic Parliament of the People, since Jan van Riebeeck landed in Table Bay 340 years ago, our people have had to resist domination of all kinds. Led by great leaders and generals such as Maqoma, Outhomao, Makana, Cetshwayo, Sekhukhune, Tshivase and Moshoeshe, our people fought courageously in defence of their rights.

It was only in 1906, with the crushing of the Bambatha rebellion, that the first period of armed resistance to colonialism came to an end. It is no coincidence that this defeat of our people was followed by the convening of the national convention of Boer and British settlers that led to the creation of the infamous Union of South Africa in 1910. That first undemocratic constitution was based on the defeat and exclusion of our people.

It was the creation of this racist state that led to the formation of the ANC [African National Congress]. The founders of the ANC realised that unless we spoke with one powerful voice, our fate would be decided by the oppressor. When they formed the ANC on January 8, 1912 they were casting a unanimous vote for a parliament of the people.

Comrades, the racist parliament that was established in 1910 has continued in one form or another to this day. Whether it was under the 1961 Republic Constitution or the 1983 tricameral Constitution, this country has always been ruled by a racist parliament. The present Constitution and government is, as the president of the ANC, Comrade Nelson Mandela, told de Klerk at Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa], "discredited, immoral and illegitimate."

Whatever form the racist parliament has taken, the central aim has been to keep power in minority hands. While we are involved in negotiations to achieve democracy, the National Party continues to insist on various devices to ensure that they will remain in command.

Their constitutional proposals are an attempt to impose a system designed to maintain white power, behind a complicated charade of democracy.

Comrades and compatriots, this Parliament of the People, should be a lesson in democracy to the National Party and all those who make up the discredited tricameral Parliament. Because whatever this government pretends, they simply do not know what democracy is about. They do not know that democracy means that all should have equal votes and the value of each vote should be the same. They do not know that the party that wins 10 per cent of the vote, cannot demand to have the same say as the party that wins 60 per cent. They do not know that meaningful democracy cannot come about without the involvement of the people in the streets. We must teach them a lesson. That lesson is that democracy is government of the people, by the people, for the people.

But comrades, there is one thing that they do know. They know that if there were to be free and fair elections, then the ANC would win an overwhelming majority. That is why they want to change the rules of the game in order to prevent an ANC government coming to power. That is why they are attempting to prevent a future government from having the power to do what the people need to decide.

For any democracy to have meaning, it must be used to address the problems that the people face. For over 80 years that racist parliament just up the road, has been used to take our land away, to make laws that moved us to dusty ghettos and squatter camps. That house up the road has been used to create taxes like VAT [value-added tax], which leave our children hungry and our people starving. That house up the road has been used to make laws that deprive our youth of schools, and our sick of hospitals.

A democratic parliament of the people must not only give us the vote. A people's parliament must correct the injustices of 300 years of colonialism and 40 years of apartheid. The new democracy that we will build, must address the problems of the poor and down trodden. That house up the road must be transformed from a meeting place serving the interests of the rich, to a place where the problems of the hungry and those without rights can be solved.

Until that happens the ANC will not accept any seats in that house of apartheid or in de Klerk's cabinet. It is arrogant of the National Party to think that they can draw our leaders into a structure which we have fought all our lives, a structure which has legalised the killing, torture and suffering of our people.

That suffering still continues. Our country is torn by violence and, every day, we are presented with more evidence that it is the government which is behind the violence. It was proved with Inkathagate, with the funding of organisations hostile to the ANC. The real obstacle to peace is the present government.

Comrades, the path to a parliament of the people is clear. The establishment of Codesa is a historic decision. Codesa must be a vehicle for democratic change. The

time is past when important proposals for our peoples' future are made in the racist parliament. Codesa is the forum to decide how the negotiations process should proceed. Codesa must install an interim government of national unity within 6 months. The interim government must ensure that by the end of 1992 a constituent assembly is elected to draw up a new constitution. The constituent assembly must be elected by all the people of our great land, on the basis of one person one vote. And once we have a new constitution, we will then be able to elect a people's parliament of our dreams.

These steps to achieve a peoples's government are clear. But they will not come about because of the goodwill of de Klerk. A peoples' parliament will only result from our mass struggles reinforcing the demands of our leaders at the negotiating table.

Our mighty show of strength here today is a powerful and irresistible vote for democracy.

Let the present government and the world hear us today. This must be the last time a racist parliament is opened. End the racist parliament. Forward to the Parliament of the People. The people shall govern. Vala ipalamente amandlagusha. Vula ipalamenti: yabantu. [Close the Parliament of usurpers. Open the Peoples' Parliament.]

Comrade chair and representatives of our people—I now solemnly declare this great Parliament of the People open.

'Formal Diplomatic' Ties Established With Angola

MB2401163492 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network in English 1600 GMT 24 Jan 92

[Text] South Africa's diplomatic isolation with its near neighbors is coming to an end. In the latest development Angola and South Africa have established formal diplomatic relations.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha and his Angolan counterpart, Mr. Pedro de Castro van Dunem, signed an agreement in Luanda yesterday by which representative offices would soon be established in the two countries. Mr. Botha's visit to Luanda also included a brief meeting with Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and discussions with UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] leader Jonas Savimbi.

[Begin SABC reporter Arlene Wainstein recording] Mr. Botha's visit to Luanda has paved the way for South African Airways [SAA] to begin scheduled flights to the Angolan capital. The air link could be introduced as early as March this year. Although an agreement still has to be finalized between the South African flag carrier and the Angolan national airline, TAAG, SAA anticipates operating a weekly service to Luanda. South Africa's cargo airline, Safair, has been operating in Angola for some time and also carries out maintenance on Angolan aircraft. With the country concentrating on rebuilding its

shattered infrastructure, at least half of Safair's current freight business is Angolan. [end recording]

Hani Predicts Interim Government 'In 6 Months'

MB2301084392 Umtata Capital Radio in English 0800 GMT 23 Jan 92

[Text] ANC [African National Congress] Executive [Committee] member Chris Hani says an interim government will be in place in six months.

Hani says an interim government will have control over broadcasting services, the state coffers, and security forces. He says the winner of a general election will take all, as that is democracy.

Hani, who is also the secretary general of the [South African] Communist Party and chief of staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation—ANC military wing], has been speaking at a rally in Cape Town to drum up support for the ANC's People's Parliament.

That parliament is to be held on Cape Town's Grand Parade tomorrow, to coincide with the opening of the tricameral Parliament.

Press Reviews on Current Events, Issues

Press Review for 23 Jan

MB2301135292

[Editorial Report]

BUSINESS DAY

ANC's 'Tenous Grasp' on International Financial Relations—Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 22 January writes in a page 6 editorial that "if the ANC's reaction to government's latest foreign borrowing did not have such potential to damage foreign confidence in South Africa's economy, it might be construed a serious aberration. As it is, the attack on the ECU loan will almost certainly reinforce the views of critics who believe the ANC's politicians and economists have little more than a tenous grasp on the reality of international financial relations." The article continues by arguing against the ANC's criticism of the loan rate. "South Africa creditworthiness is nowhere near that of a European government at present, nor is it likely to be under a future 'democratic' regime. The ANC's latest reaction can only add to our cost of borrowing abroad." "It bears repeating that foreign bankers owe us nothing. They are not waiting eagerly to open their purses to a 'democratic' South African regime."

Future of Conscription—In an editorial on the same page, BUSINESS DAY says "while government dithers on what to do about draft dodgers, more unwilling conscripts will vote with their feet." The editorial concedes, however, that changes need to be made. "The Defence Act needs to be overhauled, not tinkered with by allowing alternative forms of service for later intakes.

That means redefining manpower requirements and reducing budgets. It means reconsidering conscription, because government will be mocked by absentee soldiers until it does so."

'Last Parliament Under the Existing Constitution'—Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY on 23 January on a page 6 editorial states "when Parliament is put onto half time because MPs and government official are required at another constitutional forum, it is time to take notice. It is a potent reminder of the importance government attaches to extra-parliamentary negotiations. Government is probably allocating Parliament a lesser role than at any time since Union in 1910." The editorial continues with discussion on the future of the current Parliament. "This is the last Parliament under the existing constitution; it will vote itself out of existence with the adoption of a new negotiated constitution. Government was hoping that would not take place until 1994, but things are happening so fast that Parliament may not have much to do after the current session."

CAPE TIMES

'Back the SAP'—"Whatever the pressure to reduce government expenditure," says the Cape Town CAPE TIMES in English on 21 January on a page 8 editorial, "the country's need for an efficient and effective police force to combat rising crime should preclude any question of cuts in the budget allocation for the SAP. In place of the current freeze, what is needed is a substantial increase in the police vote to ensure that the men in the front line against crime are well-paid and motivated and properly equipped to do the job."

SOWETAN

Codesa, Parliament 'Streams' Viewed—"Right now Codesa is the only realistic vehicle by which the mass of South Africans can be transported down the bumpy road to a better future," writes Johannesburg SOWETAN in English on 23 January in a page 8 editorial. "Parliament, because it excludes blacks, is simply not in a position to do the job. Two streams have developed in South African politics—the Codesa stream and the parliamentary stream. Because of the importance of the work which Codesa must do it is right that as much time as is necessary is spent on it by the major players."

Press Review for 24 Jan

MB2401140092

[Editorial Report]

THE CITIZEN

De Klerk Warned Against 'Weakening' Parliament—"Mr Popo Molefe, a member of the ANC's [African National Congress] National Executive Committee, described the decision by the National Party [NP] that Parliament should sit only three days a week as 'recognition of the increasing irrelevance of the tricameral Parliament,'" states the page 6 editorial in Johannesburg

THE CITIZEN in English on 23 January. However, the paper stresses that "Parliament, not Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa], is the body that must approve and legislate any constitutional changes. It must remain sovereign and supreme until such time as a new constitution is introduced. Anything that derogates from its importance and authority must be rejected—and limiting its activities in any way is a derogation of its importance and authority. State President De Klerk and his government should think again before they are accused of writing off or weakening Parliament for the sake of Codesa."

THE STAR

Train Attacks 'Well-Planned Campaign'—"The killing of at least eight people in attacks on trains and railway stations this week is another example of an apparently well-planned campaign to wreck the peace process through the wanton killing of innocent people," declares a page 10 editorial in Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 24 January. "That the police have been unable to prevent these attacks is a serious indictment of our law-keeping authorities. Reassurances of protection from police chiefs serve no purpose if the police are unable to deliver." The editorial warns not to underestimate the "difficulties the police face." However, combating train violence should be a police priority even at "the risk of inconveniencing passengers" through searches at stations. "Carrying of weapons of any kind is not allowed on aircraft. Only when the police vigorously enforce the spirit and letter of the law will safety to return to our trains."

BUSINESS DAY

Botha Visit To Luanda Move Toward Regional Stability—Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha's visit to Luanda on 23 January "is of more than casual importance, for Angola is not just another southern African country," begins Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 24 January in a page 10 editorial. "It is a nation against which we fought an undeclared war and within whose borders we had until recently deployed a sizeable army." Botha's visit follows months of increasingly constructive contacts between the two countries. Government officials and trade delegations have been to Luanda and official trade and diplomatic links will soon follow. South African goods and expertise will go northwards and Angolan oil will come south. Regional stability is as much a concern now as it was 17 years ago."

THE WEEKLY MAIL

Inkatha 'Overplaying' Its Hand at Codesa—Steven Friedman writes in the "Worm's Eye" column on page 14 of Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL in English for 24-30 January that even when the Inkatha Freedom Party, IFP, insists it is committed to Codesa, "its demand that it send three delegations and its refusal to sign the Codesa declaration have done more to obstruct the process than quibbles raised by the other parties." Friedman believes the IFP is being "difficult" because it

"wants to secure its place alongside the NP and ANC in a new government," or that it is "preparing ground for Natal-kwaZulu to secede." If the NP and other parties refuse to accede to more Inkatha demands negotiations may be threatened and it may be a greater threat "than that now posed by groups such as the CP [Conservative Party] and PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress]." "If there is a solution, it may lie with the IFP itself. It reached its present pass by overplaying its hand. Having mobilised force to push its way into the 'Big Three', it continued this tactic even after its place was probably assured." "If the IFP realises this, its role will obviously change. But if it doesn't, the party of negotiation could become as great a threat to a settlement as some of Codesa's vocal opponents."

Economic Forum Urgency Welcome—A page 16 editorial says that "after dithering for much of last year, the business community has finally given an unequivocal signal that it supports the idea of national negotiations with labour on economic policy. The scope, powers and composition of the forum have still to be determined, but the positive spirit and sense of urgency at this week's watershed meeting between business and the unions suggest that formal talks could be under way within months."

ANC Concern Over Control of Media—"The ANC is in line with dominant thinking in most of the world when it says in its latest policy proposals that over-concentration of media control is inimical to democracy," states a second editorial on the same page. "Its concern is even more valid when major elements of this media structure are so primitive that they still publish different editions of the same newspaper for different races. The awful reality is that we are still saddled with an apartheid media firmly and anachronistically dominated by the three cornerstones of power in the old South Africa: the state, the National Party and mining capital."

NEW NATION

Editorial Notes 'Coordination' of Train Attacks—Referring to the recent train attacks, Johannesburg NEW NATION in English for 24-30 January in its page 6

editorial says: "The suddenness of the start to the attacks and the strategically chosen targets, tells us of the coordination that lurks behind them." "That these attacks are political, is self-evident and indisputable." "Continuing revelations about the role of the SADF [South African Defense Force] and the funding of Inkatha and other organisations by the government, are an indication of this desperate strategy to retain power at all costs."

SOWETAN

Separate Marches Show Black Political Disunity—"Little illustrates our political disunity better than the plans today for two protest marches on Parliament in Cape Town," states a page 10 editorial in Johannesburg SOWETAN in English on 24 January. "The ANC is organising one march from one end of town. It will call for an end to the race-based Parliament. That, of course, is fair enough. The PAC is organising the other march from the other end of town. This will also call for an end to the race-based Parliament." What sets the two marches apart is the PAC's opposition to Codesa and the ANC's involvement in that same organisation. "A parliament which excludes black people because they are black is an insult to every right-thinking human being in this country. It should be the one factor which unites all blacks in this critical time of our history. Instead we have the silly sight of two sets of marchers divided by the existence of a vehicle for reform."

CAPE TIMES

Need for Volunteer Defense Force—Cape Town CAPE TIMES in English on 22 January in a page 8 editorial says it is "unrealistic" to suggest that South Africa no longer has need of a defense force. "In a time of transition an efficient and loyal SADF [South African Defense Force] is more necessary than ever." Although there are many views on what kind of defense force will be needed in a new South Africa, "A strong body of opinion favours a relatively small professional army of volunteers. Given the alarming unemployment rates, there will hardly be a problem in filling the ranks and in recruiting career officers of the appropriate standard."

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